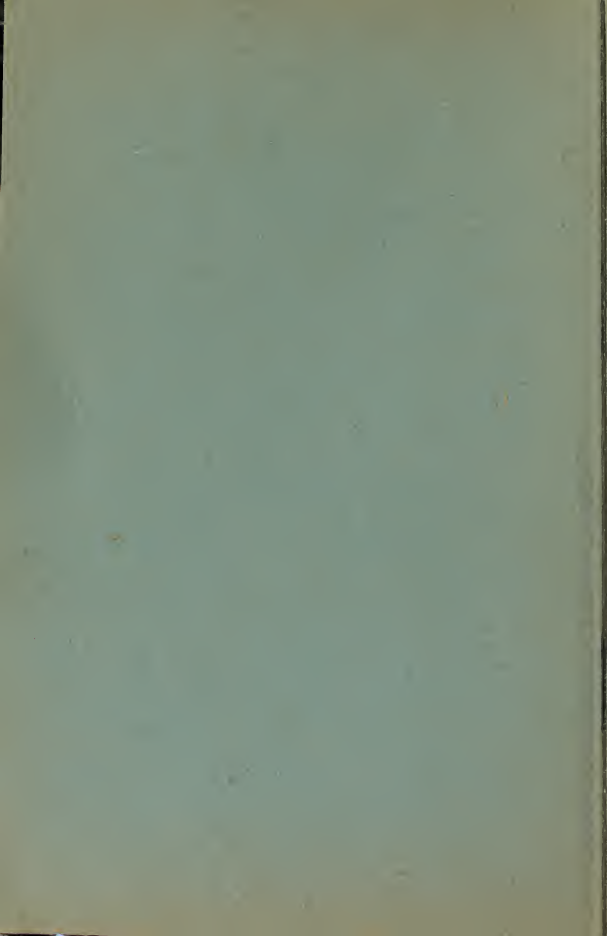


LITTLE BLUE BOOK NO. 824
Edited by E. Haldeman-Julius

Torquemada and the Spanish Inquisition

Clement Wood



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INQUISITION

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TORQUEMADA AND THE SPANISH INQUISITION

I

THE ROOTS OF THE INQUISITION

Early Christian Intolerance.—Paramo, an early apologist for the red scourge of the Inquisition, affirmed that God Himself was the first inquisitor; that the first "Act of Faith" was executed upon Adam and Eve; and that their expulsion from their residence in Eden is a proper precedent for the confiscation of the property of heretics. The Eden story is a typical example of the psychological illusion of the "golden past." Memory sponges out past horrors and preserves past happinesses, in many cases; thus the home town we came from, the family circle we grew in, the hereditary picture of ancient times, blurs into a bliss alien to its real irks and ills. Man has risen from the brute, not descended from a golden godhood. There was no Eden; nor was the timorous Jehovah of the story, fearful lest man eat of the tree of life and suffer a god's long torment of living forever, relatively at least, an Inquisitor. Yet the roots of the inquisition, which flowered so dreadfully in Frey Tomas de Torquemada, are deep in the early history of the church called Christian.

Torquemada, like Joan of Arc, was an extreme case of fanaticism. Her fanaticism was

the bright certitude of patriotism; his was the dark horror of intolerance. He was essentially a sadist, an abnormal thing happy only in the torture and the spilt blood of others. At any time, in any cause, he would have been a dreadful blood-letter: not a warlike blood-letter, like the berserk god Jehovah and his gory early followers, but a shrewd callous cold-blooded snaky racker and killer. Like Joan, he was superficially nothing for self, and all for his cause; but her cause grew in a girl's heaven-dream of a freed motherland, and his grew in the twisted hell of his inner torment. She freed France; he drained and killed Spain.

Early Christianity was a religion with an inferiority complex. It was a fanatical religion, attracting chiefly slaves and women, both oppressed under the early Roman empire. Other religions were admitted tolerantly into the Roman pantheon; this privilege was offered to Christianity. But, as a protest of these oppressed classes, it desired no tolerant admission; for it bodied their hopes of an end of slavery and discrimination. It wanted no Christ subdued to mere equality with Janus, Osiris, and Mithra, dependent upon Jupiter; for Jupiter stood for the detested oppression and discrimination. So, as it would not accept Rome's courteous assimilation, it received Rome's libelous hatred. Its secret services were said to be practices of abominations, including the ritual murder of infants, and cannibalism in its communion services. Christianity did not understand that its communion was a complete sublimation of an earlier can-

nibalism; nor would it have been believed, if it had made this defense. Early Christians, too, were Christian enough to be pacifists; this was, in Rome's eyes, insubordination and subversion of public order.

Under Claudius they were harried from Rome, as disturbers of the public peace; under Nero and Domitian they were persecuted as public enemies. Persecution breeds enthusiastic converts; and at length shrewd Constantine ended the gnawing internal canker by placing Christ where Jupiter had stood. He did not so much Christianize Rome, as Romanize Christianity. This is shown, among other things, by the contrast between the method of Christ and his apostles, persuasion, and the method of the Romanized Christian, persecution. Once in the saddle, the religion with the inferiority complex turned its sudden power into a persecution of pagan, Jew, and heretic, that has only weakened as orthodox Christianity has weakened. The early heresies — Arianism, Manicheanism, Gnosticism, and the rest — were fantastic amalgams of Christianity with other religions and practices: sun-worship, Buddhism, rejection of marriage, and what-not. The church sternly exiled these; the great Augustine of Tagaste was one among thousands who denounced religious liberty.

The Roman empire fell, the barbarians seeped into the Roman world, and were absorbed into the Roman church. Their conversion did not so much make Christians of them, as make the bloody Roman Christianity a more barbarous Roman Christianity. The old here-

sies were dead; new ones were slow to arise, since for seven hundred years Rome largely succeeded in keeping man's growing mind under lock and key. Her dogmatic attitude is defensible, if she had said to men: This is the truth as I see it; take it or leave it. Instead, she said, Accept it, or I kill you. About 1200 A. D. the various sects known collectively as the Albigenses arose in enlightened southern France. Since the Theodosian code, there had been an "Inquisitor of the Faith"; but he was secular, rather than clerical. It was Innocent III who bestowed this dreadful weapon upon the clergy; in 1215 he ordered all rulers to exterminate from their realms all those denounced as heretics by the Church, on pain of being deprived of their domains. To show how Christian and merciful this onslaught upon heretics was, the fathers of the faith announced:

"Persons marked with suspicion only shall, unless they can clear themselves, be smitten with the sword of anathema, and shunned by all."

The Dominicans.—The carpenter of Nazareth, recognized as god by the Roman Catholic and other Christian churches, had said:

"If thou wilt be perfect, go and sell all that thou hast, and give to the poor, and thou shalt have treasure in heaven; and come and follow me."

This anarchic counsel had been completely disregarded by the carpenter's Vicars on earth. The successors of Peter, the Galilean fisherman, were enthroned with a splendor outriv-

alling that of any other earthly ruler. Temporally they were lords of vast domains. Their glittering courts were thronged with rustling scarlet prelates, with patricians clothed in silver and gold, with captains in steel, with mincing fops, stately senators, painted harlots. They were garbed in the finest fleece, and crowned with the triple diadem of white peacock feathers with three flaming circlets of precious stones. On their coronation, kings served them upon the knee at table; throughout their reigns, princes and patricians were their lackeys.

To rebuke this, two sons of the rich founded brotherhoods of the poor: Francis of Assisi and Dominic of Calahorra. The latter had rejoiced over the crimson massacre of the Albigenses; but he went to Rome to propose a gentler means to procure the same end. He implored Pope Innocent's consent to let him found an order of preachers who, in poverty and lowliness, should win back the strayed heretical sheep. The papacy, after some delay, granted the petition of Dominic, as well as that of Francis, and the mendicant orders were established. Soon enough they construed their vow of poverty to mean lowly attire for themselves, and vast wealth for the order. Soon enough, having the winning of heretics placed in their charge, they installed the gentle Inquisition, or Holy Office, to do the persuasion. As Sabatini words it in his vigorous study of Torquemada:

"Their persuasion was to be the ghastly persuasion of the rack; their eloquence was to be the burning eloquence of the tongues

of material flame that should lick their agonizing victims out of existence. And all for the love of Christ!"

So these Dominicans, exulting in their name of Dogs of God, "*Domini canes*," set about their bloody business. Three years after Dominic's death, in 1227, the Inquisition was entirely in the hands of the order. Their punishment included the second generation of heretics; "excepting the innocent children who shall denounce the iniquity of their fathers"—a dreadful provision, in line, however, with the words of Christ, who soundly deprecated the accident of kinship. In addition to heretics, blasphemers were to be burned to death; or, by special indulgence, to be freed after being deprived of their tongues. Those under suspicion were to be excommunicated; one who buried an excommunicated corpse should himself be excommunicated, unless with his own hands he exhumed the corpse and saw to it that the place was never thereafter used for sepulture.

The property of heretics should be divided, one-third to the informer, one-third to the trial judge, and one-third to repair the walls of Rome, or otherwise as might be directed. Houses in which heretics preached were to be demolished; their children should inherit nothing. This grew logically out of the Catholic doctrine of exclusive salvation, which damned to eternal punishment members of all other faiths, savages who had never heard the name of Christ, unbaptized babes, and even the soul of the foetus that perished in the womb. Such

of the church's children as committed the minor peccadilloes of murder, rape, adultery, and sodomy, were treated tolerantly; but the heretic was God's enemy, and God's wrath must shrivel his soul, his body, his possessions, even his children to the second generation.

Isabella of Castile.—For seven centuries the Saracen had lorded it over the Spanish peninsula. The Berber Tarik in 711, the Omayyad caliphs in Cordova, the terrible Yusuf with his bearded men from the desert, the followers of the Mahdi, held Spain, and made it a shining seat of learning. But the barbarous Christians, from 1236 to the ascension of Isabella of Castile and her husband Ferdinand of Aragon, in 1474, slowly won it back. Only Granada and a portion of the coast were still in Moorish hands. The government was impotent in the hands of a general anarchy; but Isabella was one of the strong queens of history, amply able to be a queen in fact. She put down the rebellious nobles, and did not hesitate in person to face a raging mob of commoners, and calm it with her serene assurance.

She did not hesitate to provoke a contest with Pope Sixtus, for his oppressive exactions upon the wealth of Spain. Step by step she backed down his imperious demands, and by threat of a general church council won her points with him. Next she subordinated the local clergy, and at last sat firmly in the royal saddle. It was at this time that the problem of the Jewish heretics was brought insistently to her attention.

Jews and New Christians in Spain.—There is no historical certainty when the Jews first arrived in Spain. Legends attribute the founding of the Kingdom to Tubal, son of Japhet, son of Noah, who was not yet a Jew; and state that the first Jews came in with Nebuchadnezzar II of Chaldea, who settled in Toledo the missing ten tribes of Israel. This is no more and no less unreasonable than the location of the ten tribes as the Chinese and Japanese, the American Indians, or the recent war profiteers. More probably, the Jews came in during the time of the Visigothic kingdom, after the fall of Jerusalem. Out of a Visigothic persecution they were delivered by the Saracen invaders, and enjoyed to the thirteenth century one of the great golden ages of Judaism.

Wherever he encountered the Jew, the Christian held him in detestation as a descendant of those who had crucified the Savior, rather than as blood kin of the Savior. In return, the Jew detested the Christian as thoroughly as followers of an impostor who had attempted to usurp the role of the promised Messiah. More than this, reflecting upon his centuries of culture, he could have nothing but detestation for these presumptuous Spanish Christians of yesterday's hatching. Since the Christian politically gained the upper hand, the Jew masked his feeling, and set out to win such toleration as he could. Their commercial acuteness made them strong enough to buy those indulgences that in Christendom are the birthright of every Christian; their

numbers—a million in Castile at the end of the 13th century—made them formidable.

Such persecutions as they suffered were local. Innocent III and his successor, the organizers of the massacre of the Albigenses, confirmed the ancient privileges of the Jews: that they could not be required to accept baptism; that their feasts and religious ceremonies must be respected by Christians; that the whipping or stoning of Jews be forbidden; that their burying-places be held sacred; and that, should any desire to embrace Christianity, they should be received with love and benevolence. Ferdinand III of Spain, in 1224, gave the Jews the four mosques he had wrested from the Saracens, to convert into synagogues. Their only restraints were that they must show respect for the Christian religion, and refrain from proselytizing among Christians, under penalty of death. Alfonso VIII employed a Jew as treasurer, and took a Jewess for his mistress. They were again in a golden period; science, art, and literature flourished at their hands.

But their superabundant wealth was their undoing. They came to display it with arrogant ostentation, and grew princely with the horrible arrogance of wealth. Questions were begun to be asked as to the sources of their wealth; and although the taking of interest as high as forty per cent had been held legal, the old Christian prohibition of any interest as usury began to awake. The populace grew menacing; the hollow old charge of ritual abominations and practicing human sacrifice,

employed by the Romans against the early Christians, were revived against the sect. Alfonso XI in his code took official notice of these charges, and prescribed death as a penalty if they were proved. Llorente, historian of the Inquisition, lists four of these alleged ritual murders:

1250. A choir-boy of Zaragoza, Domingo de Val, was said to have been crucified by Jews; he was made a saint later, and worshipped at Zaragoza as a martyr.

1452. A boy crucified by Jews at Valladolid.

1454. A boy from near Zamora crucified, his heart burnt, and his ashes consumed in wine by Jews.

1468. A boy in Segovia crowned, whipped, and crucified. In the last two cases, convictions are alleged. The authorities given by Llorente are highly doubtful; the Romans had proofs as strong that the early Christians indulged in the same practice.

Historically, the crucifixions of effigies by the Jews were not intended to mock the crucifixion on Golgotha, but commemorated the hanging of Haman, the ancient enemy of the Jews; the crucifixion on Golgotha may well have been an individual commemoration of the same incident. This, in turn, was in all probability derived by the Jews from a Babylonian ceremonial; its earlier origins are lost in the mist of antiquity. But these charges against the Jews were believed; fanatical monks preached massacre and pillage, and the crowds were quick to glut their bloody instincts upon the unabsorbed Jews. They were next accused

of having caused the 1342 Black Death; men could see Jews, and could not yet see germs. Pope Clement VI stopped the ruthless alternative of death or baptism forced upon them; but fanatical monks, especially in Spain, continued to preach and achieve massacres of the Jews, and the kings began to saddle unjust burdens upon the race. A Dominican, Hernando Martinez, continued this preaching, in the face of the king and the orders of all his superiors. In Seville, in one indiscriminate slaughter of men, women, and children, four thousand were slain. In the face of this Christian mercy, it seems a pity that the Jewish ritual murders were merely allegations. Throughout Spain the alternative was given the Jews: baptism or death. The Christians glutted their lust for blood; some 50,000 Jews were slaughtered. Over 1,000,000, according to Llorente, saw the light of Christianity, and were baptized.

Under the decree of 1412-1415, the Jews lost most of the few privileges left to them. No Jew could be judge, even in a Hebrew court; only one synagogue should be left in each city; they could not practice medicine, surgery, or chemistry; could not serve as tax-collectors, nor buy or sell in trade with Christians, nor eat with them, nor send their children to the same schools. Intercourse between a Jew and a Christian woman was forbidden under pain of death by burning, even though the woman was a prostitute: the records are suspiciously silent upon intercourse between a Christian and a Jewish woman. The ghetto

must be walled round; Jews could not shave, and must wear a distinguishing garb. Three times a year—horrid punishment!—they must listen to a Christian sermon, assuring them of their damnation, in the name of Faith, Hope, and Charity, the prescribed text.

The converts, or New Christians, at once gained all the rights of Old Christians. The Inquisition was restricted to those who had apostasized or seceded from the Christian Church. But, since the converts had been made upon the command, "Be baptized, or die!" it had more than a million Jews as possible fodder. On Isabella's first visit to Seville, the Dominican prior suggested the formation of an Inquisition, to stop the inevitable Judaizing activities of these converts-by-force. But the queen was suspicious of attempts to increase the power of the grasping clergy; she knew that the able New Christians were to be found in every office of eminence, and out-numbered the Old Christians in them. She may have recognized that anti-Semitism was in reality a debtor rebellion.

Meanwhile, the clergy spread their libels. One Bernaldez, a priest, accused the Jews of everything vile he could think of, including violation of monasteries and ravishment of nuns by wealthy Jewish merchants. At length Isabella was forced to act; but she appointed, not the Dominicans, but the Cardinal of Spain, to stop the Judaizing. Then a young nobleman, conducting an intrigue with a Jewish girl, overheard some of these Judaizers denying the divinity of Christ. These Judaizers

were punished, and the Dominicans insisted again on the establishment of the Inquisition. Their cause hung in the balance, when a new figure appeared upon the scene—a figure in the white habit and black cloak of the Dogs of God, a man in his 58th year, tall, gaunt, stoop-shouldered, with mild eyes masking the fires of fanaticism. This was Frey Tomas de Torquemada, Prior of the Dominican Convent of Holy Cross of Segovia, who had been confessor to the Infanta Isabella, and whose influence over her was strong.

CHAPTER II

TORQUEMADA AS INQUISITOR

Torquemada the Man.—The Torquemada family received their name from the northern Spanish town of Torquemada (the Roman *Turre Cremata*). Lope Alonso de Torquemada was knighted by Alfonso XI; his great-grandson, Juan de Torquemada, a Dominican, was raised to the purple with the title of Cardinal of San Sisto. He is known in theological annals as a staunch upholder of the Immaculate Conception and of papal infallibility. The Inquisitor, Frey Tomas de Torquemada, was the son of the cardinal's only brother, Don Pedro Ferdinando de Torquemada. Tomas was born at Valladolid in 1420; is said to have shone in school; and, after receiving his doctorate, joined the Dominican order.

After filling the chair of canon law and theology, he was elected Prior of the Convent of Santa Cruz of Segovia. He was known as a model of piety, learning, and zeal, and was repeatedly re-elected to the position. His character was austere; he was a queer blend of the masochist, or self-martyrizer, and the sadist, or cruelty-inflictor. The first aspect appears from the fact that he never ate meat, or used linen either in his clothing or on his bed. The second was submerged until the Inquisition. Sometime in his career, he became confessor to the Infanta Isabella. There is a

myth that he secured from his royal penitent a vow that, once upon the throne, she would devote her reign to the uprooting of heresy; this is a fictitious mushroom growing out of later happenings. In any case, the Dominican used all of his influence to persuade the reluctant queen to glorify Christ by establishing the Inquisition; and at length his argument won its way.

The Holy Office Established.—By order of the sovereigns, their Orator at the papal court, D. Francisco de Santillana, applied to Sixtus IV for a bull that would empower them to set up an Inquisition in Castile, to enable them to uproot heresy "by the way of fire." This Sixtus was notorious for his incests with his sisters; for his bull that the nephews and bastards of popes should be Roman princes; for installing a six-year-old bastard son of the King of Naples by a Spanish prostitute as bishop of Aragon; and for establishing several flourishing houses of prostitution under his protection, in which each girl was taxed a golden Julius a week. Sixtus, through his zeal for encouraging the installation of the kingdom of Christ on earth, granted the bull on November 7, 1478.

Nevertheless, the sovereigns temporized, attempting to convert heretics through the mild Cardinal of Spain and his assistants. In 1480 the Cortes met, and decreed that the old harsh laws against the Jews should be revived in full vigor. They did not mention the Inquisition in their decree; the Queen was still anxious to use some milder method. But the Jews, an-

gered by this resurrection of the old specter of oppression, seethed openly; and a New Christian published a pamphlet censuring the royal action in the matter, in which, carried away by his zeal, he fell into heresy. This was the final straw; on September 27, 1480, the sovereigns acted at last upon the papal bull which had been in their hands now for two years, and appointed as inquisitors to Castile the Cardinal of Spain and Torquemada.

Mendoza, the cardinal, and Torquemada, at once set about their task. For Seville, where Judaizing was said to be most rampant, they appointed the Dominican friars Juan de San Martino and Miguel Morillo, the latter an experienced man in inquisitorial practices. On October 9th, the sovereigns issued a command to all loyal subjects, requiring them to render the Inquisitors every facility for carrying out their mission. The project was received so tepidly, that the Inquisitors met at Seville a solemn reception, but no assistance. So marked was this, that they complained to the King, who sent special orders on December 27th, requiring the assistance. Whereupon they established their court, and proceeded about their business in the name of Christ.

The rumor of their coming had filled the New Christians with foreboding. The sight of the gloomy funeral pageant—the white-robed, black-hooded inquisitors, with their attendant barefoot friars, the procession headed by a dominican carrying a white cross—on its way to the Convent of St. Paul, where they took up their quarters, was enough to put to flight some

thousands of those who had cause to fear that they might become the objects of the attention of the fearful court. These fugitives sought refuge with the neighboring nobility. Whereupon the pious Inquisition, as usual letting easy suspicion take the place of proof, held that this flight was itself proof of guilt. They announced this in an edict on January 2, 1481.

First Steps.—This edict summoned the neighboring nobles by name to furnish an exact account to the inquisitors of all who had taken refuge in their jurisdiction; to arrest these, and surrender them to the Holy Office, confiscating their property and placing it in trust at the call of the inquisitors. If they failed to do so, they were held liable to excommunication and a loss of all their honors and dignities. Of course, the departures from Seville had taken place before such departures were forbidden; but such retroactive legislation is one of the brightest spots on the record of the inquisitors. This furious zeal at once alarmed the New Christians remaining in Seville, and they prepared to take steps to combat the fervor of the religious court.

A group of the more prominent of these New Christians met on invitation at the residence of Diego de Susan, one of the wealthiest and most influential men of Seville, whose fortune was estimated at ten million maravedis. They came together to consider what measures they should take for the defense of themselves and their property from the unscrupulous activities of this tribunal. They determined that, if necessary, they would resort to force. Several

of these New Christians thus deciding were ecclesiastics; a number held high royal office, including the governship of Triana and the captaincy of Justice; there was the farmer of the royal customs, and numerous other wealthy and well connected men. Susan reminded them that they were the principal citizens of Seville, wealthy in property as well as in the good will of the people, and that resolution and solidarity on their part would let them prevail against anything the inquisitors attempted.

To his undoing, Susan had a daughter. This girl had taken a Castilian lover; and influenced by regard for him, she betrayed her father's conspiracy to the inquisitors. Susan and his unfortunate confederates were seized, and brought to trial before the Holy Office for heresy and apostasy. Five of the leaders, including Susan, were found guilty of apostasy, and were delivered up to the secular arm, the political government, for punishment. Apologists for the Inquisition paint the fanatical Dominican servants of the Inquisition as angels of mercy, who besought the condemned with tears to adjure their error. Susan, and perhaps the others, died a Christian; their execution was contrary to the powers granted by the pope, for they were not yet liable legally to death.

As her father was being led to the first Auto de Fe, or public judgment and the punishment by death following, the unnatural daughter took the veil in one of the convents of the city. She left the convent without professing, resumed her love affairs, and had several illegitimate children. She died, dissi-

pated and impoverished, under the protection of a grocer, and in her will ordered that her skull be placed over the doorway of her house, as example of her evil life and in punishment of her sins. This house is situated in the Calle de Ataud, opposite its entrance from the Alcazar; and there the skull of the woman has continued until recent times.

It was on February 6th that the killing took place. Susan and his fellows were led forth barefoot, in the ignominious penitential yellow sack, a candle in the hand of each. Hemmed about by halberdiers, they were paraded through the streets of the city whose good will they had won and held; horror and dismay must have filled the hearts of the people. At the head of the procession marched a Dominican carrying the green cross of the Inquisition, now swathed in black; in the line were the inquisitors and many of the Dominicans, led by their fanatical Prior Ojeda. After being required to listen to his sermon, the prisoners were marched out of the city to the meadows of Tablada. The later ghastly pomp and ceremonial had not yet been devised; but the march was gruesome enough. In the meadow they were attached to the stakes that had been erected; fire was set to the faggots; and thus they perished miserably, to the great glory and honor of the Roman Catholic Church.

Modern science has established that man is an animal, and gods are illusions. What a queer animal is this, that can spin out of his fancy horrendous deities, at whose imagined command it is needful for him to torture and

punish with the horrid death by the flames his fellow animals. If we saw birds or lions or dogs burning one of their number to death, we should be sceptical if we could be told by them that their god had commanded the deed, because he was a god of love.

This was the first and last burning that Ojeda witnessed. A few days later he lay dead, slain by the plague that was ravaging the south of Spain, and that made him one of its first victims. From the pulpits of Seville the Dominicans thundered forth their charge that this plague was the punishment of God upon the wicked city, for suffering the Judaizing to go on. If they had considered a moment, they would have noted that God's aim was singularly poor, since his shaft struck down the fanatical Ojeda among the first: or else they would have seen that in the act God smote his unfit and unfaithful killer for his burning sins. Yet, as before, not the Jews, and not God, willed the plague; in its causes lay man's real enemy. But the time was distant, and is still distant, when man abandons that fratricide, that race suicide, which consists in killing his brother men, in war or peace; and turns his brain to fight against the real foes that dispute his happiness on earth.

At once the inquisitors scuttled out of plague-ridden Seville, and proceeded zealously to light more fires, in Heaven's name. In the town of Aracena alone, where they sought refuge from the pestilence, they burnt twenty-three people alive, in addition to a number of buried bodies exhumed for the purpose. Even

before they had gone, the nobles, alarmed by the fate of Susan and his friends, had brought in the fugitives, until the vast Convent of St. Paul was too small to hold these and the city suspects arrested, and the Inquisition moved to the Castle of Triana, surrendered to it for this purpose by the sovereigns.

The Edict of Grace.—The edict of January 2nd was soon followed by a second one, known as the "Edict of Grace." This exhorted all who were guilty of apostasy to come forward within a limited term, to confess their sins, and be reconciled to the Church. It assured them that, if they did this with sincerity, they should receive absolution, and suffer no confiscation of property. If they failed to come in, it warned that they would be accused by others, and prosecuted with all the might of the Holy Office. Cardinal Mendoza, backed by the queen, was instrumental in having this announced; and there can hardly have been in their minds the black treachery that developed.

The response was immediate. More than twenty thousand of the backsliding converts came forward, to confess and receive absolution. They discovered to their horror that they had walked neatly into a trap as cruel as any that smooth-faced, soft-voiced priestcraft had ever devised. Its diabolic cruelty is the hall-mark of the Inquisition; it seemed super-human in its vicious abandonment of all accustomed ethics and faith and morality, for the ultimate glory of its God.

And the trap? There was a concealed condition, secretly reserved, to spring it upon

these self-convicted apostates now at its mercy. With infernal subtlety the inquisitors pointed out that the confession must be sincere; and that the only possible proof of this sincerity was that the penitents must disclose the names of all Judaizers known to them. The demand was an infamy. Not even under the seal of the confessional is a priest authorized to impose upon a penitent, as condition of absolution, that he divulge the name of an accomplice or partner in guilt. Yet here the demand went further, that they should denounce such sinners as they knew; and so subtly was it framed, as a proof of sincerity, that none came forward to denounce the inquisitors for the infamous malpractitioners that they were.

The wretched apostates found themselves between the sword and the wall. Either they must infamously betray those of their race whom they knew to be Judaizers, or they must submit to death by fire and the destitution of their children, through the confiscation of their property. Most of them gave way; they were enforced Judases, to save their lives and the welfare of their loved ones. A list of the proofs of Judaizing were now published by the inquisitors, which contained the following among other ways by which New Christians guilty of Judaizing might be identified:

IV. Any who keep the Sabbath in honor of the law of Moses—the proof to be wearing clean garments on that especial day, as well as by refraining from work and from lighting fires.

V. Any who strip the tallow or fat from meat they are to eat and purify it by washing in water, or bleeding it.

VII. Any who eat meat in Lent and on other days on which it is forbidden by Holy Church.

XX. Any who recite the Psalms of David without concluding with the versicle "Gloria Patri et Filio et Spiritu Sancto."

XXII. Any who circumcise their children.

XXVIII. Any who hold a valedictory supper before setting out on a long journey.

XXXI. Any who, in their death agony, have turned or been turned with their faces in the wall, to die in this attitude.

These customs were more racial than religious; they contained nothing directly opposed to the Christian teaching. Some, such as the valedictory supper before a journey, were as often indulged in by Christians as by Jews. Hardly a sincere New Christian could fail to be caught by one or more of the wide pockets in the Christian net. As sly and cunning were the inquisitorial system of espionage. One astute friar climbed to the roof of the Convent of St. Paul on Saturday mornings, to observe and note the houses of New Christians from whose chimneys no smoke was to be seen issuing. The lust was up to burn heretics; Spanish Christianity was off on a spree of fiery murder.

On March 26th, seventeen more victims were burnt on the fields of Tablada. By November, 298 had been sent to the flames in Seville alone; 79 others, by abject reconciliation, had secured a commutation to life imprisonment. During 1481, according to the historian Mariana, 8,000 were burnt in Castile alone, while 17,000 were submitted to penance. Many more,

who had fled the country, were burnt in effigy, having been tried and found guilty. The godly court went through the farce of sitting in judgment upon many who were dead; and, having convicted them, it dug up their bones and flung these to the flames. On the fields of Tablada a vast Quemadero, or Burning Place, was built of stone. At its four corners were four vast statues of the Prophets; Llorente says that these were hollow, and so contrived that a condemned person might be placed in each, and so die by slow fire. Whether this was so or not, the vast stone platform did its duty efficiently.

So ruthless was the killing, that in January 1482, the Pope himself addressed a letter of protest to the sovereigns. It was one thing for Sixtus, as cardinal, to deflower successively his sisters, and corrupt his children by them; but this work in Spain was too much for his sensitive nature. The New Christians had fled the land, and were besieging the Pope in person; and they were wealthy. This letter revoked the royal power of appointing the inquisitors, and bestowed it upon the General of the Dominicans, and the Spanish provincials of that order. To this the king and queen submitted without protest. On the one hand, the influential New Christians about the royal persons had poured the same complaints into royal ears that the fugitives took to the Vicar of Christ at Rome; the queen's own secretary, Pulgar, was one of these. On the other, the sovereigns were preparing for a projected war upon Granada, the last Moorish province

in Spain, and they needed funds. The daily confiscations of the Holy Office were furnishing these; and the papal letter did not aim at stopping them. Thus bigotry and greed joined hand in hand; and the evil pair, as often, were irresistible.

III.

THE HOLY WORK SPREADS

The Supreme Council.—On February 11, 1482, the Pope issued another decree, announcing the appointment of a Council to consist of Frey Alonso de Cebrian, General of the Dominicans, and seven other Dominicans. One of the "Dogs of God" so appointed was Torquemada, who by now had become confessor to the King as well as the Cardinal of Spain. The sovereigns continued to complain of the situation; the appointment of a Court of Appeals from inquisitorial decisions in Spain did not work successfully. On October 17, 1483, the Holy Office was consolidated by the Pope, and Torquemada was appointed Grand Inquisitor for Spain, a title soon broadened to include Aragon. He was ideally fitted to serve his three masters and their desires: to multiply confiscations for the King, to spread the faith for the Pope, and to inspire horror among heretics, as the Dominicans demanded.

Torquemada's Instructions.—To expedite his work, a Supreme Council was established in 1484, consisting of three royal councillors, Torquemada's two assessors, and the Grand Inquisitor himself. The same year he issued his first comprehensive instructions, in order to produce uniformity of procedure. These were based upon a work by an inquisitor named Eymeric, and had been produced about 1350.

In addition to heretics, the following were subject to the jurisdiction of the Inquisition: blasphemers, such as a man who says, "The season is so bad that God Himself could not give us good weather"; sorcerers and diviners, when they re-baptize an infant or burn incense to a skull; devil worshippers, except those who invoke the devil to tempt a woman to immorality, which was held to be the devil's proper business; Jews, infidels, and apostates. Jews could be tried for sinning against any of their articles of faith which were also believed in by Christians; infidels could be punished for sinning against the laws of nature—the only laws they knew. This last, of course, could be stretched by the Inquisition as far as it wished.

Torquemada's instructions, being for the glory of God, could go to any extreme in degrading men. Thus, in the provisions about witnesses, the inquisitors need not give the names of any witnesses against a suspect, or even let him see the whole of the depositions. Proceedings could be taken against the absent, and against the dead, even though forty years had elapsed since the offense. If sentence is pronounced against him, the property of his heirs was confiscated; which was the low motive animating this phase of the Inquisition's activities. The godly inquisitors justified it by pointing out that it would serve to restrain heretics, lest they impoverish their descendants after death. Of course, it was a wholly retroactive law, at the time it was passed.

The children of heretics were punished

dreadfully. For the heresy of their parents or grandparents, they were dispossessed of their property, and prevented from holding any office under the Crown, or any churchly office, or from following any honorable or lucrative profession. More than this, they were to walk clothed in infamy: they must go dressed in serge, without weapons or ornaments, and never ride horseback. How shrewdly oppressive were these enforcers of belief in certain dogmatic lies, as promulgated by a Pope called infallible, often himself of gutter morality! All this, be it remembered, was done in the name of the merciful carpenter who taught that God was love.

The Procedure.—Torquemada labored constantly to broaden the offenses for which his torch might be applied. He soon had bigamy included; although he passed over adultery, which was far too fashionable to be disturbed. Sodomy he had included, and he sought to include that form of clerical unchastity called solicitation. This consisted in a priest's abuse of the confessional for the purpose of seducing female penitents. The prevalence of this ultimately caused the installation of the confessional-box, in which the priest was caged away from the penitent. Torquemada was unsuccessful at the time in having this placed under the charge of the Holy Office; later, after the Reformation, the Church itself took the step that he had urged. After the offense was placed under the Inquisition, during the first 35 years, in Toledo alone, 52 priests were found guilty of solicitation; and, of course, for the sake of the good name of the church, this

was only a fraction of the cases really occurring.

Eymeric, listing ten imaginary methods with which heretics might trick inquisitors, advised the latter to meet guile with guile. He justifies recourse to hypocrisy, and even to falsehood. He gives in detail the deceits the inquisitors should use. They were to speak sweetly and softly, assuming that the main offense was already proved, and that only the details needed proof; they were to pretend falsely that the evidence before them had convicted the suspect; they were to finger irrelative documents, implying by their questions that these established the guilt; they were to threaten an indefinite imprisonment, before the trial was completed; they were to lengthen out the examinations, until the confused suspect contradicted himself on some minor point. Once this was done, he could be put to the torture; Eymeric adds with satisfaction that hardly anybody could avoid varying in his answers under such a test.

If the accused still persists in denial, the inquisitor should now soften his conduct, finally promising that he will give grace (pardon) to him (the Latin phrase is *faciet sibi gratiam*). When the accused, having confessed his crime, asks for the promised "grace," he receives, not the pardon he expected, but (1) a remission of some insignificant part of the penalty, or (2) a promise that, as a penitent heretic, he will, after his burning, be in a state of grace with God. The inquisitors, then, took away men's lives on a pun, and not a very brilliant one at that. Such fraud, the Inquisition taught,

was permissible, because it was for the public good, and for the greater glory of God.

The Inquisition was instructed to employ spies, who were to pretend friendship and agreement with the accused's views, to betray him to his death. The spies were to avoid direct falsehood in words; in acts they could pretend anything. And confession was held to be absolute proof, without further evidence of the crime; since heresy was a sin of the soul.

The Torment.—We have already seen the method by which a suspect was brought to contradict himself, in order that he might be tortured. He might also be tortured if there was only half-sufficient proof; as when there are no witnesses against him, but merely violent suspicion. The torture could not be given but once, according to the papal order; and the Inquisition usually was a stickler for the exact letter of the law. How, then, did they repeatedly torture a suspect, and still obey the papal decree? Simply by "continuing" the torture from day to day, without limit. Such was their fascinating and diabolic logic.

There were several favorite tortures, especially (1) the torture of fire: roasting the feet of the suspect after anointing them with oil; (2) the rack; (3) the hoist, by which the accused was lifted into the air by ropes tied to his arms, and dropped a few feet again and again, with jerks that almost pulled his arms out of their sockets, until he confessed. At times the accused would be left hanging for three or four hours. (4) The water-torture was the most hideous of the lot, and was especially favored by the Holy Office. The ac-

cused was placed on a ladder, with his head inclined below his feet, and tightly bound here. Cord tourniquets were applied to his arms and legs, and the stick twisted until at times the cord would sink through nerves and sinews until it reached the bone. The accused's nostrils would then be plugged, and water poured into a long strip of linen placed across his jaws. He would be constantly on the point of suffocation; and there was always the merciful alternative of confession.

Once the confession was exacted, the Holy Office "abandoned" the guilty man to the secular arm, under papal threat of excommunication if it did not put a condemned heretic to death within five days. A special garment called the *sanbenito*, ornamented with grotesque devils, and tongues of flame, was the badge of the victim.

The Inquisition Elsewhere.—At Zaragoza, in Aragon, the exasperated New Christians, on the arrest of Leonardi Eli, one of the more prominent of their number, decided to assassinate the local inquisitors. They succeeded in stabbing to death Pedro Arbues de Epila, one of the inquisitors, while he was in church, at midnight. However, instead of stopping the bloody Christian horror, this deed infuriated the populace, and rioting followed. This was quieted, on a promise of strict justice.

Torquemada sent three new inquisitors; and in their wide net they arrested a servant of one of the murderers. He was promised "grace" if he would confess; he did so, naming the others. The "grace" he received was

to be hanged, drawn and quartered, *without* having his hands cut off first, as was done with the other murderers. One had committed suicide in prison, by eating a glass lamp; his corpse was burnt. Fourteen public burnings, called *Autos de Fe*, were held in Zaragoza in 1486. One man, Alonso de Caballeria, Vice Chancellor of Aragon, son of a wealthy baptized Hebrew nobleman, defied the Holy Office. When he was accused of aiding fugitives and upon suspicion of being a Judaizer he defied the inquisitors, and appealed successfully to the Pope. He rose in honors, until he was Chief Judge of Aragon.

Of course, the murdered inquisitorial murderer Arbues became a saint and a martyr, from the moment of his death. Legends sprang up upon his corpse like fungoids. We are told that the bells rang themselves the hour that he died; his blood boiled for twelve days upon the stones where it fell; miracles took place there, and about four hundred years later Rome solemnly voted him into the ranks of God's saints.

In Toledo, one especial infamy was an inquisitorial command that the Rabbis were required to denounce any Judaizers they knew of, and to pronounce the Mosaic edict of excommunication against all Jews who failed to give to the Christians knowledge of any Judaizing they were familiar with. This fiendish outrage, so great was the fear of the Inquisition, brought it more victims. If the victim had been forced to a confession, the executioner mercifully strangled the man; if not, the man was left to die by the slow hell of the

lighted fagots. Supplementary Autos were held, to deal with fugitive and deceased heretics. As each accused was cited by name and offense, the families opened a stage monument that had been erected for the purpose, and drew out the effigy of the dead man, dressed in the grave-clothes peculiar to the Jews. When the charges had been read and sentence pronounced, the effigy, together with the exhumed bones of the deceased, was thrown into the flames.

Throughout Spain, the more influential New Christians who were under suspicion or in danger of it, appealed to the venal Pope for a secret absolution. This brought great money into the papal treasury, and added new converts to his religion; the Pope yielded eagerly. Torquemada protested with all his vehemence; and the Pope proceeded flagrantly to cancel the absolutions he had sold; with an urbane smile the Supreme Pontiff reminded them that they had purchased spiritual absolution only; they must settle with the Holy Office, which dealt out temporal absolution. This temporal absolution as they knew, meant perpetual imprisonment for themselves, confiscation of their property, and the poverty and infamy of their children.

So great was the New Christian protest at this papal treachery, that Innocent VIII listened. This new pope, John Baptist Cibo, Cardinal of Melfe, had been early initiated into debauchery at the court of Sicily; he had become the minion of a cardinal, and thus risen to the highest ecclesiastical dignities. The papal throne was secured for him by whole-

sale bribery; and, upon ascending it, he at once set to work to provide rich livings, bishoprics, and principalities for his sixteen bastards then living. It was his ferocious voice that inspired the persecution of the Vaudois Protestants, in which more than eight hundred children, with their mothers, who had taken refuge in caves, were suffocated by smoke. Zizim, son of Sultan Mohammed II, who visited Rome, refused to follow the custom of kissing the pontiff's feet, saying that he would not touch such a dirty baboon. It was this shining pillar of the faith who hearkened to the New Christian protests, and repeatedly ordered the Spanish king to admit groups of fifty persons to secret absolution, with immunity from punishment. These secret absolutions were purchased at an enormous price, and, if the purchaser thereafter relapsed, he was to be treated with all the fury of the Inquisition.

Several of the deceased suspects were cleared thus by their heirs, in order to prevent confiscation of property. In 1486 alone, the Pope named Innocent granted four of these group absolutions. A large number of baptized Jews bought from the pontiff immunity from inquisitorial jurisdiction. Upon Torquemada's protest, the astute pontiff explained that, if there was suspicion of heresy, the Holy Office must still step in. There was an admirable sense of honor wanting in the papal incumbent.

Meanwhile, Torquemada was growing vastly wealthy from his share of the confiscations. But, fanatic that he was, he stuck to his aus-

tere asceticism. He never ate meat; his bed was a plank; his flesh never knew the contact of linen. He refused all offers of higher churchly office, content to remain the Prior of Holy Cross of Segovia. His money he spent wholly upon the church, rebuilding convents, churches, and the like. At Avila he built the church and monastery St. Thomas, securing from the new Pope Alexander VI an endorsement of the condition that no Jew or Moor should ever be admitted within its walls.

This new Pope earns a further word. If a more dreadful monster than Roderick Borgia, who ascended the papal throne in 1491 as Alexander VI, ever stained the highest religious seat in Christendom, we lack part of his record. He is said to have been the incestuous son of another Borgia, the Pope Calixtus III, and his sister Joanna. When a youth, he entered into a liaison with a beautiful Spanish lady, and seduced and corrupted her two daughters. By the handsomest and youngest of these, Rosa Vanozza, he had five children, Francis, Caesar, Lucretia, Godfrey, and one who died in childhood. When he was driven out of Spain for his murders and rapes, he brought his mistress to Rome, and there added his daughter Lucretia to the number of his mistresses. By direct bribery, on the death of Innocent, he bought the pontifical throne. His bastards were made dukes, princes, cardinals; he planned kingships for them. After a life reeking with the violation of every accepted standard of morality, he died, poisoned accidentally by poisoned wine he had prepared for rich princes of the church, in order to acquire

their wealth. It was this man who now stood behind Torquemada in his fanatical labors.

For Torquemada, fanatical foe of the Jews, had not stood still in his hatred. The Judaizing movement went on, in spite of the dreadful burnings: perhaps because of them, for oppression does not strangle a cause, but drives zealots to its side. The oppressed Jews, in the village of Casar de Palomero, publicly smashed a large wooden crucifix, to show their opinion of Torquemada's Christianity. A tale-bearer brought word of this to the Christians; rioting followed, in which three Jews were stoned to death; two more—one a boy of thirteen—suffered the loss each of his right hand; and the rabbi, protesting his innocence, died under the torture of the rack.

This was another charge which Torquemada drove into the wearied ears of the king and queen, in his insistence that the Jews as a race be driven from Spain. The sovereigns were reluctant. Ferdinand could see that the chief trades of the country were in the hands of the Jews, and that Spanish commerce would wilt at their removal. The war then on against the Moors in their last southern stronghold of Granada was being managed by Jewish contractors. To drive out the Jews would mean anarchy in industry and warfare, that he saw.

And then occurred one other incident, which was just what Torquemada needed to put the last rivet into his short-sighted fanatical demand for the expulsion of the Jews. That was the reputed ritual murder by crucifixion at La

Guardia, in the province of La Mancha, of a boy of four years of age, known to history as "The Holy Child of La Guardia."

Torquemada could not have asked for a stronger argument to buttress his demand. This very fact has led many writers to advance the opinion that he faked the whole story, and engineered the substantiation of the charge. For "the glory of God," surely there would have been nothing unusual in an Inquisitor in such a bit of manufactured propaganda. The strange case merits examination at length.

IV.

THE HOLY CHILD OF LA GUARDIA

The Legend of the Boy Martyr.—In the sanctuary of the alleged martyred child is still preserved an obscure and unauthoritative "Testimonio." From this, and a "Memoria" prepared by Damiano de Vegas of La Guardia in 1544, Martinez Moreno drew the materials for his brief history of the "holy child," which was published in 1786 in Madrid. In 1887 an alleged transcript of the trial of Jose Franco, one of the accused Jews, was published. Out of this nebulous material all that is known of the case must be drawn.

The extended account by Moreno is either a religious fraud, for purposes of increasing the glory of God and the church; or else it is the ebullience of a moronic mentality. It sets forth that a party of Jews from La Guardia and its neighborhood, having witnessed an Auto de Fe in Toledo, were so filled with hatred of the Holy Office and Christians in general, that they conspired together to annihilate all Christians. This narrow aim is typical of the inflated bombast of the story.

One of the conspirators, Benito Garcia, a wool-comber of Las Mesuras, had learned in France of a similar attempt, which had failed through a trick played upon the sorcerers. For the destruction of all the Christians had been planned, in France, by means of magic. The tools of the magic were a consecrated

wafer and the heart of a Christian child; when these were reduced to ashes and scattered in the rivers of France, all Christians who drank the water would at once go mad and die.

The Jewish magicians obtained the wafer, and tempted a poor Christian, according to the story, to sell them the heart of one of his children. He nobly refused the monstrous proposal; but his wife, combining shrewdness with greed, assented to the proposal, accepted the price, and delivered to the magicians the heart of a pig which she slaughtered, instead of the child's heart. Thus the enchantment failed; and Benito, narrating this to his fellows, proposed the same remedy in Spain, making sure that the heart used would come from the proper Christian animal.

Juan Franco, a carrier of La Guardia, was one of the conspirators; he and Benito went to Toledo, to locate the child they needed. In the very door of the Cathedral through which the Virgin Mary had entered, on a visit of honor to his worshipper Saint Ildefonso—so goes Moreno's story—they found what they wanted, the beautiful son of Alonso de Pasamontes, three or four years old. His mother, conveniently made blind for the sake of the story, was near at hand, but could not see the wicked magicians lure the boy away with the bait of sweetmeats. The child was tolled away and imprisoned until the Passover season, when the eleven Jews—six of them New Christians—took the child to a cave in the hills above La Guardia, and made him reenact a

parody of the Passion. They scourged him, says Moreno, crowned him with thorns, and at last nailed him to a cross.

While scourging him, the Jews carefully counted the number of lashes, to make them tally exactly with the number that Christ received. They, of course, knew, as did medieval Christians, just how many this was; the modern Church, abashed by the fishy stare of cynical science, has conveniently forgotten its certainty on the point. When the child had borne without murmuring more than five thousand strokes—quite a proof of miraculous infantile toughness—he suddenly began to cry. One of the Jews—finding, we are to suppose, that this weeping required explanation—asked him, "Boy, why are you crying?" It would never have occurred to the Jew—in the story, that is—that more than 5,000 lashes would cause the tears.

To this the boy replied that he was crying, because he had received five lashes more than Christ.

"So that," says this Doctor of Divinity, quite soberly, "if the lashes received by Christ numbered 5495, as computed by Lodulfo Cartujano in his 'In Vita Christi,' those received by the Holy Child were 5500."

When he was crucified, his side was opened by one of the sorcerers, who began to rummage for the child's heart. He failed to find it, and was suddenly halted by the child's question: "What do you seek, Jew? If you seek my heart, you are in error to seek it on this side; seek on the other, and you will find it."

This sounds suspiciously as if the child was aiding a heretic.

At the moment of his death, the Holy Child performed another miracle. His mother, who had been blind from birth, received the faculty of sight, the exact moment that her son died. Moreno calls this the child's first miracle; he regarded the child's amazing capacity to count, at four years; his pachydermatous toughness under punishment; and his speech during crucifixion, as the usual traits of Christian youths during martyrdom.

Benito Garcia received the heart, together with a consecrated wafer stolen from a local church, and started to find the head magician who was to work the enchantment. Passing through Astorga, and recalling that he was a New Christian, he pretended piety, went into a church, knelt, and opened his prayer book, in which the consecrated wafer had been hidden. A good Christian saw a resplendent burst of light from the book—another digressive miracle—and followed the Jew, whom he decided was some very holy man. When he located the man's lodging at the inn, he went to the inquisitors, in order that they might investigate the miracle.

The inquisitors sent their officers. At sight of them Benito lost his head completely, and, when taken before the inquisitors, at once confessed the whole affair. Upon being desired to surrender the heart, he produced the box in which he had it hidden. When it was opened, and the cloth spread wide, the heart was discovered to have vanished—a sixth miracle, of

course. Or, if you are sceptical, a pretty good proof that no heart had ever been there.

Moreno mentions a seventh miracle next. When the inquisitors opened the grave, they found the place empty. Of course, says Moreno, the child, who had suffered the bitterness of Christ's crucifixion, had been resurrected by God's will, and his body had been translated into heaven. Or, if you continue sceptical, another admirable proof that no body had ever been there.

The "Testimonio," one of Moreno's chief sources, differs widely from this. It mentions none of the offenders; does not narrate the miracles, any of them; slurs over the absence of the child's body. The whole thing looks suspiciously like a pious fraud. This was the age of pious frauds: nor need the past tense be emphasized.

The Trial of Jose Franco.—Let us now turn to the alleged corroborative evidence, first made public in 1887, consisting of the reported trial of Jose Franco, one of the alleged sorcerers. In May or June, 1490, a New Christian of Las Mesuras named Benito Garcia, says the account, stopped at an inn in the northern village of Astorga. He was a wool-comber of some sixty years of age; and a group of Astorgan toughs went through his knapsack, and discovered there some herbs and a communion wafer. For this he was arrested; on his silence under questioning, he was given 200 lashes; and, under the water torture, he confessed, he said, "more than he knew, and enough to burn him." "More than he knew" may mean more

than he later remembered; more obviously, it means more than was true; i. e., his confession was a lie.

Among other things, he confessed that he had returned to Judaism, frequenting the house of Mose Franco and Jose or Juce Franco, Jews of Tenbleque. The Inquisition promptly arrested Ca Franco, father of Mose and Jose, a Jew more than eighty years of age; and his son Jose, a lad of twenty, a cobbler by trade, for the offense of persuading Benito to return to Judaism. Ca's other son, Mose, had either already died, or died before he was brought to trial.

In jail Jose, becoming very ill, asked to have a Jew sent to him, to pray with him and prepare him for death. The inquisitors sent a Dominican, one Frey Alonso Enriquez, disguised as a Jew. To him Jose, according to the account, having no information from the Inquisition as to what he was arrested for, replied that "he had been arrested on account of the *mita* of a *nahar*, which had been after the manner of *Otohays*." Translated, this is said to mean "on account of the killing of a boy, which had been after the manner of that man," i. e., of Christ. Torquemada took charge of the case himself, and had four New Christians named Franco—no kin to Jose,—and also Jose, Mose Abenamias, Benito, and Juan de Ocana of La Guardia, arrested for the offense. There is no suggestion as to how six of these were connected with the alleged offense.

Jose, on October 27, 1490, was examined, and testified among other things that Juan Franco

had admitted to him that some time before or during 1487 he and his brothers had crucified a boy one Good Friday in the manner that the Jews had crucified Christ. On Dec. 17, 1490, he was brought to trial, for (1) crucifying a Christian boy, and (2) being leader in obtaining a consecrated Christian communion wafer, that the boy's heart and the wafer might be used to work an enchantment.

At no time during the trial, or since, was the time of the alleged offense stated by the inquisitors.

In April Jose, by subtle questioning, is said to have confessed that Benito had told him three years before, or in 1488, that he had gotten a communion wafer for a deceased Hebrew physician, supposedly for some sort of magic. The next day he is said to have told the inquisitors that in 1487 his brother Mose and the others had obtained a consecrated wafer, to use in enchantments; that they had used this both in 1487 and 1489. More than a month later—the record is silent to the tortures of the period—he stated that he had heard his brother (now dead) confess that the enchantment had included, with the wafer, the heart of a Christian boy.

So far, Jose Franco had been, by all the evidence, at most one who knew of these things, and by no means a heretic himself. On July 19th, on the express promise of the inquisitors that further confession would mean pardon and immunity for himself and his old father, Jose testified that he had been present in a cave near La Guardia, when the heart of the Chris-

tian boy was shown. The father, says the account, was thereafter tricked into stating that he and Jose had been present in the cave when the Christian boy was crucified.

On Sept. 24th Benito, under the horror of continued torture on the rack, confessed the crucifixion. One by one the others were tortured, and confessed the same offense. As yet, Jose had not been actually incriminated. The inquisitors desired to kill him too; some sort of collusive persuasion was used, to make the others alter their confessions, so that Jose was made a central figure in the affair. On November 15th, 1491, sentence was pronounced on the eight living suspects and on the effigies of the three who were now dead. On the next day, the eleven were principals in an Auto de Fe in the market-square of Avila.

The populace rioted outside against the Jews, as these eight went to their deaths. Benito recanted, to enjoy the comfort of strangulation, instead of burning. So did at least two of the others; but the Jews—the stalwart old man of over eighty and his son—held staunchly to their faith, and refused to avoid by apostasy any of the agony prepared for them. The refusal was as noble as the whole conduct of the Inquisition, in this its own document, had been ignoble. In diabolic spite, the flesh of the Jews was torn with red hot pincers, as a preliminary Christian mercy; and then, for the love of Christ, they were consumed living over slow fires.

“Do not pray for them,” writes the reverend notary who is responsible for the account, “for

they are buried in Hell." This queer note, quite out of keeping with Christian belief, is merely one of a thousand suspicious things about the whole document.

Sabatini, who believes this tissue of churchly promise-breaking and torture, holds that the thing proved was not a Jewish ritual murder, but a case of sorcery, or magic, in which Christians as well as Jews were included. There are several excellent reasons why no credence need be attached to the belated evidence.

Objections to the Alleged Proof.—(1) It is well established that the body of the supposedly murdered child was never located. This is one of the chief unexplained mysteries of the case. The obvious explanation is that there never was such a body.

(2) The whole case is vague as to the alleged date of the crime. The obvious explanation is that there never was such a crime.

(3) All of the parties were tortured repeatedly, before the specific confessions are alleged to have been made. Under the hellish torture of the Inquisition, men would confess anything. The subtle inquisitors needed only to suggest the offense, and the desperate suspects, to ease the pain, would confess it gladly. The next day, they would ratify it, for fear of further torture. A man tortured unto death will confess anything, to secure a brief respite of life. Frequently, according to the testimony, in this case all the suspects were confronted together, and their stories repeated to each other, to make them fit perfectly. This all

points toward a determination on the part of the inquisitors to build up a faked case in their records, for their own purposes.

(4) And—most damning of all—the evidence does not appear for four hundred years after the alleged trial. It is found then in Catholic archives. Any zealot in the meantime, desiring to bolster up the sickeningly weak case in favor of the Inquisition, might have forged the elaborate papers, in parody of other Inquisition trials.

(5) The Church itself offers the best evidence against the authenticity of the record. Churches were built in Spain in spots connected with the alleged crime; the people of La Guardia elected the assumed martyr as their patron saint; a fast was appointed for the eve of his feast-day, which was first March 25th, but afterwards changed to September 25th. But the Church of Rome, which has created saints until their number even is beyond our computation, has not yet recognized the Holy Child of La Guardia as a saint of the church.

This may easily be remedied. Surely there is ample reason for making a saint out of this suppositious martyr! What is the reason? He is said to have been killed at about the age of three or four by heretics. He could not have known much, at this age; he could not have been very wicked in his zeal for the Church. Perhaps this last named fact will prevent his canonization. But, then, he was a mathematical prodigy; and, if old Moreno is to be believed, miracles were nothing in his young

life. Ultimately he will undoubtedly be identified as one of the sweet company of saints. The probability that he never existed at all will make his saintship all the more interesting.

The situation bears out the probability that the alleged crime was manufactured out of whole cloth. Torquemada, in his insane fanaticism against the Jews, had long deviled the sovereigns to expel them from Spain. The sovereigns, for all their pious subservience to the Church, had faced its representatives down before, from scheming clerical underlings to the fanatical Torquemada, and the Pope himself. Torquemada was determined to get rid of the Jews: he could not do it, without a more powerful reason than any that existed. Anything, he taught repeatedly, was justified, if it furthered the cause of God's kingdom, i. e., the plans of Torquemada and the other fanatical Catholics. Accordingly, a wholesale faking of such a charge against the Jews would have been entirely justified, since it furthered the cause of God's kingdom. Torquemada was shrewd enough to engineer the thing himself; or passive enough to permit it to be engineered by some bright young Christian, and then to take full advantage of it, in carrying out his plan to rid Spain of the Jews, and thereby to stab his own land in its vita's with a wound from which it has never recovered, and perhaps never will.

V.

THE EXPULSION OF THE JEWS

Torquemada's Weapons.—The edict of banishment, which Torquemada sought to have his sovereigns sign, was to make desolate the fairest provinces of the kingdom; was to deprive it of its most industrious and thriving population. As reason for this drastic national suicide, no act of recent conspiracy, no disloyal attitude, no reluctance to contribute to the public burdens, was alleged. The whole race was convicted on lies. Some were mouldy old lies, with the rot of a century and more upon them; some were recent lies, like the la Guardia case, and most of these were silly beyond belief. Among the worthless charges raked up and shouted demagogically were:

(1) An alleged crucifixion of a Christian at Zaragoza in 1250.

(2) Another at Segovia in 1406.

(3) One near Zamora, 1454.

(4) One at Sepulveda.

(5) The la Guardia case.

At least, the Christians had suffered from more of the same silly charges, levelled at them by the pagans during the early Roman empire.

(6) There was the discovery of an alleged conspiracy at Toledo to blow up a procession carrying the communion wafer.

(7) An attack by Jews at Casar de Palomero on a wooden crucifix standing in a field.

(8) A charge that the illness of the Prince

Don Juan was the result of Hebrew infamy; since he had gotten ill through looking at a golden pomander-ball given him by his Jewish physician, which contained within an obscene picture, insulting to the divinity of Christ. The story, of course, was trivial, scurrilous, and obviously untrue.

(9) An alleged attempt to crucify a Christian boy at Valencia.

(10) A forged letter, attributed to Husee, Prince of the Jews in Constantinople, advising the Spanish Jews to become doctors, that they might kill Christians; to become clergymen, that they might destroy Christian temples; to become public officials, that they might rule the Christians.

(11) A popular story that a Jewish physician in Toledo carried poison in one of his fingernails, with which he touched the tongues of his Christian patients, and killed them.

(12) A popular story that another Jewish doctor deliberately poisoned the wounds he was supposed to heal.

There were many other such trivial lies. These were the arguments used by Torquemada and his assistants, for the love of Christ, to inflame the royal mind and the minds of the people against the Jews. The sovereigns still hesitated; but the deceived people began to demand the banishment, as once before a misled mob may have shouted "Crucify Him!" The voice of God, the clergy slyly said, spoke from the lips of the people; if so, it was a dumb god, for all its noise.

The Hebrew "Crimes."—What actual offenses could be set down against the Jewish race in Spain?

They were the most effective patriots Spain had. Jewish gold, voluntarily contributed, enabled Ferdinand to drive the Moors out of Spain, which was finally accomplished on January 2, 1492. Both the faithful Jews and the New Christians, enforced converts from Judaism, which would have been called in America "shotgun Christians," contributed to this. More than this, the whole management of the campaign, the equipping and maintaining of the army, had been in the hands of Jews. When the sovereigns acted, the Christians greeted them with cheers, the Jews with cheers and valuable gifts.

Torquemada's demand was that the Jews must receive baptism, or go. If the race had been willing to accept a Savior they believed spurious; if they, with faithful hearts, had let the lie pass over their lips,—they would have defeated the bloody old fanatic. Truly enough Torquemada reiterated that, for all the Autos de Fe, tortures, trickeries, burnings, massacres, and hatreds, Judaism spread; not only did the Jews remain faithful, but the converted Jews were constantly going back. For this is the lesson blinded men has not yet learned: that oppression does not end the thing it seeks to end, but increases it. Leave a belief alone, and it will perish, if it is based upon a lie. Modern culture is the record of the slow wilting of all beliefs in supernatural agencies.

Oppress the belief and it spreads like a forest fire on a dry day.

So Torquemada, his hands red with the blood of his victims, his lips dry from mumbling his trickeries and false promises, stopped a moment in his bloody work to peer around the land he was to clean of heretics: and found he had created two heretics, for every one he had slaughtered. His Inquisition was not a cure for heresy, but a hothouse for antagonism to Christianity, as he taught it in blood. To his sovereigns he complained that the Jews continued to pervert the Christians. It never occurred to him that, if Christian faith is so weak that it can be perverted, it deserves to be perverted.

Against the insistence of this shriveled old fanatic, the Jews used all their eloquence. They were the brains and the culture of Spain; they would let themselves be used for the greater glory of Spain. They had served the crown well in the past; they would serve it better in the future. They had been oppressed by harsh laws; well, they would obey them better than in the past. Last and most eloquent of all, through Abraham Seneor and Isaac Abarbanel, the two distinguished Jews who had equipped so admirably the Castilian army for the campaign against the Moors of Granada, the Jews promised, in addition to everything else, a subscription of 30,000 ducats toward the expenses of the war against the Moslem.

The Expulsion.—Ferdinand's hesitation was increased by this offer. It would have won, if

Torquemada had not been at hand. The Dominican, learning what was afoot, thrust himself into the royal presence. There he stood, pale, breathless with excitement and anger, his livid face working horribly, as if possessed by demons. His soul was torn and tortured: was Christ's whole bloody edifice, that he had built by a lifetime of horrid cruelty, to crumble over his head now at the end?

He drew erect his withered old frame. High in air, in shrivelled sinewy hands, he pushed up a crucifix. On it was the tortured Christ, whose religion Torquemada had tortured so long and so fully.

"Behold," he gasped, transfigured and ecstatic, as he thrust the image of Christ at his king, "Behold him whom Judas sold for thirty pieces of silver. Your Highness thinks to sell him again for thirty thousand. Sell Him, then: and when you render an account to God of your bargain, tell him that my hands are clean of your betrayal!"

With this, he crashed down the crucifix upon the table. The startled king and queen blanched back, as the dreadful old figure tottered out of the room.

Thus Torquemada won.

The edict of expulsion was signed at Granada on March 31st, 1492. By it, Jews of any age and either sex must either receive baptism or quit Spain within three months, and never return, under pain of death and confiscation of all their property.

Spain was the motherland of these Jews. For centuries it had homed their ancestors;

they knew it in their hearts as their own land. They must leave it now for the bleak, unknown lands outside, or give up something dearer yet. They could only stay if they were false to the faith of their fathers, and to the God of Israel.

Whenever and wherever the arrogant Christian church, Roman or Protestant, has had the power, this is the dreadful alternative it has forced upon men.

The three months' leave of course meant enforced sale of their possessions. This amounted to confiscation; for, realizing they could get Jewish goods for practically nothing, the Christians refused to purchase, until the price had dropped to practically nothing. A Jew would have to exchange a palace for an ass, a vast vineyard for a piece of cloth. There were no purchasers for the ghettoes; the Jews had to make gifts of them to the municipalities.

Meanwhile the zealous Dominicans harried the Jews, in a wild appeal to make last minute converts. No place was sacred from their Christian impertinence: they forced their way into the synagogues, to make the Jews listen to Christian evangelism in the midst of their own services; they forced their way into Jewish cemeteries, and disturbed the farewells of the faithful Hebrews to the graves of their buried dead.

The Rabbis stood firm; and the people stood firm behind them. If the torture of Torquemada could not wring Christian blood out of Jewish bodies, neither could the violent eloquence of the barefooted preachers. The gentle

Christian law forbade taking gold out of Spain; as far as possible, the Jews evaded this. Christian legends tell that the Jews bit the gold ducats to pellets with their teeth, and at the seaports swallowed them; one woman is said to have swallowed thirty ducats. Pirates who seized the departing Jews believed these silly stories, and ripped open the bodies of certain Jews, in their search for gold.

The first week of July, 1492, the exodus from Spain began. The wealthy aided the poor. On every road out of Spain, on foot, on horseback, on donkeys, in carts, in ships, young and old, stalwart and feeble, some dying and some being born, the forlorn processions toiled onward. Portugal, France, England, the Far East, Africa, received them, and added to their oppressions in most cases. The best estimate is that more than three hundred thousand Jews left at this time, although Mariana carries the number to 800,000.

The End of Torquemada.—The Moors of Granada had obtained from Ferdinand a promise that the Inquisition would not be set up there within forty years, in order that it might not prosecute the baptized Moslems. Christian faith, as often, was broken in 1526, when the Holy Office slyly intruded itself into Granada.

Under Roderick Borgia, the pope known as Alexander VI, the scandal of secret absolutions grew appallingly. When Torquemada assailed this practice before the wicked "good father," the Pope unblushingly cancelled the absolutions for which he had been paid, on a typical clerical hair-splitting. Torquemada's

enemies in Spain were increasing at a tremendous rate. Secure in his royal protection, he was yet careful never to go abroad without his armed retinue; nor did he ever sit down to dine, without a horn of unicorn upon his table, as a magic charm against poison.

He began to encroach upon the civil courts; and, when they protested, he proceeded to act against them, as interfering with the Holy Office. The penances he imposed upon the judges deprived them of dignity and prestige; and the murmurs against him continued to grow. In spite of a prohibition against the Holy Office's attacking bishops, Torquemada, who hated the converted Jew as much as the faithful one, set in motion charges against the bishops of Segovia and Calahorra, both of whom were New Christians.

There was nothing against Davila, Bishop of Segovia; so the insatiable Torquemada raked up some flimsy evidence against his grandfather, long dead, a Jew who had been ennobled by Henry IV of Spain, and instituted proceedings which would have resulted in the poverty, degradation and infamy of the bishop, his descendant. Davila appealed to the Pope; Torquemada was ordered to follow the law, and lay the matter before the Apostolic Court. Here the Pope gave judgment entirely in favor of Davila. The other bishop was less fortunate, and eventually lost his episcopal dignities.

The Pope was urged vigorously by these and many others to depose Torquemada. In June 23, 1494, he acted to curtail the powers of the Grand Inquisitor; alleging a tender

consideration for the fanatic's failing health, four assistants to him were appointed, with powers as great as his own. In spite of the two out of this four who accepted, and the appointment of a Judge of Appeal over Torquemada, the withered old zealot continued to be the power in Spain. Complaints multiplied, when the augmented Inquisition began to dispose of confiscated property itself. Ferdinand the king, who had hitherto supported Torquemada, appealed to the Pope against this practice. The wings of the dark inquisitorial birds were at last clipped.

The next year, 1496, Torquemada retired from the court. Crippled by gout, he withdrew to his monastery at Avila. He was now an emaciated old wreck of 76, debilitated and racked with bodily infirmities; but he still kept his hand upon the pulse of the Inquisition. On May 5, 1498, he published his further "Instructions," which did not materially affect the powers or duties of inquisitors. By the end of October, he had died.

Prescott, not an innately unfriendly historian, says of him:

"Torquemada's zeal was of so extraordinary a character that it may almost shelter itself under the name of insanity."

This insane fanatic burnt more than 8,800 victims, besides 6,500 in effigy, and penanced 90,000 more. Besides this, he drove the Jews out of Spain, and virtually killed that land's prosperity and power. He is dead, but the spirit that he represented and, in a measure, awoke, is still alive. for all its enfeebled con-

dition. Torquemada was great in his very vileness and red cruelty; his modern descendants are small in the same traits. But man as he approaches an intellectual maturity, sees correctly that the whole ideal of intolerance, so ably represented by Torquemada, is vicious. No man, no sect, no group, hold all truth, or, indeed, hold any of the essence of final truth. Truth is a thing to be groped toward, rather than arrived at. Man cannot afford to punish his neighbor's groping with the faggot and the stake, the rack and the torture. A religion or a belief based upon intolerance will wither and die, as the vicious old intolerant withered and died, amid the deserved curses of the race he had victimized. They felt, though they might not say, the essence of the man. It was such as he who drove in the nails on Calvary. It was such as he who would have been the first to crucify a Christ who would not serve the horrid specter of intolerance, hatred, and blood that they reared in the name of the gentle zealot of Nazareth.

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